

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulungo matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukou*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tala*. A bungling or inexperienced rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kowikou*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was *tapu* to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 *talo* puddings (*manu*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also *tapu* formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 *talo* puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god *Malokitelangi* punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lafa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*loukole*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Those canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wakomangala*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*kumale*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god *Totoloa* and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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202 Pukapukan musical instruments consist of the wooden slit gong, the true drum, and the shell trumpet. The shell trumpet (*pu*) was made by cutting off the apical whorls of the shell *Cornis rufa*. It does not seem to have had much status in the culture and informants were vague about its use. Probably it was blown occasionally to call together the people of the island when meetings were held or announcements made.

[171] Wooden slit gongs (fig.50,a) were of the usual Polynesian pattern. Informants were confused as to the proper names for the gong as distinguished from the drum. Majority opinion called the smaller wooden gong *nauu*, the larger gong *kolilo*, the single-ended drum *payu*; some informants however did not agree with this terminology and preferred to call a wooden gong of any size *pate*, reserving the name *payu* for the single-ended drum and giving the name *nauu* to a double-ended drum; the word *kolilo* they believed to be a foreign (*pa wunu*) word for the gong (compare Manihikian *koriro*, wooden gong).

533 Wooden slit gongs are made in two or more sizes, a small gong for a high-pitched sound, a large gong for a lower pitch. All gongs are beaten with a wooden beater (*kausu*). Formerly, when a large chanting and dancing festival was held, the fore section of a canoe hull (*mas raka*) was beaten to give a deep basic rhythm against which the higher pitched gongs provided counter rhythm; occasionally a whole canoe was carried to the dance ground and the gunwales beaten with sticks to make the dance rhythm.

533 The single-ended drum (fig.50,b) was used as one instrument in an "orchestra" of drum and gongs to keep the rhythm for dancing and chanting on all occasions when chants were recited—at sports celebrations, wrestling triumphs, and death wakes. The usual drum was much bigger than the one figured, probably twice as high and twice the diameter. It was usually so high that a man could play it easily when standing before it.

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The double-ended drum was between 3 and 4 feet long, made of *wakana* or *wina* wood. Each end was about 12 inches in diameter, hollowed out to a depth of about 12 inches, and covered with shark skin which was tightened by a continuous lashing of sennit that passed back and forward between the two skins. Toward the middle of the drum two holes were bored through from one side to the other. Sennit was threaded through these holes, knotted together and the drum was slung round the neck by this sennit cord. The drum was beaten in the procession of the winning village to the dance ground when celebrating a sporting triumph. I did not see this double-ended drum; probably it is not an ancient Pukapukan musical instrument.

To play the drum is *lulu ki te payu*. The musician beats the skin surface with the fingers and heels of the hands, using the inner surfaces of the forearms to make stops demanded by the rhythm.

Wooden gongs and the shark-skin drum are still used in Pukapuka today to beat the rhythm for the introduced Tahitian style dancing. An empty

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by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kulua and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Taa. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

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When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

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A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

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The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata haus* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Taa, united as the *wai toina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamaunga and Yayi, were together the *wali haus* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata haus* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

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As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their makos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

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No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.